

THE
CITY OF ROME,
AND
ITS VICISSITUDES :
A LECTURE
BY
THE RIGHT HON.
JAMES WHITESIDE,
LL.D., Q.C., M.P.

Published under the sanction of the Committee of The Dublin
Young Men's Christian Association in connexion with the United
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IN CONNEXION WITH

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LECTURES, 1860-61.

1860.

December 5th—"The Advantages and Disadvantages of Youth."

Ven. JOHN GREGG, D. D., Archdeacon of Kildare.

1861.

January 11th—"The City of Rome and its Vicissitudes."

Right Hon. JAMES WHITESIDE, Q. C., M. P.

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May 1st—"Arctic Voyages, and their Effect in Developing
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June 5th—[Subject not yet fixed.]

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THE Dublin Young Men's Christian Association

IN CONNEXION WITH

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DELIVERED BEFORE THE

DUBLIN YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION

IN CONNEXION WITH THE

UNITED CHURCH OF ENGLAND AND IRELAND,

IN THE

METROPOLITAN HALL, JANUARY 11TH, 1861.



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THE
CITY OF ROME,
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ITS VICISSITUDES.

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES, AND GENTLEMEN,

I consider it a high privilege to be allowed to address you on the present occasion, and I take this opportunity of expressing the warm feeling I entertain in favour of an Association like yours. The greatest objects have been accomplished in public life by the power of association: sometimes men associate for evil purposes, sometimes for good purposes; and I am at a loss to conceive any more beneficial object to be accomplished than that which is aimed at by your Society. The young men of the city, who belong to an Association such as yours, will always find time, if they are so disposed, to cultivate intellectual pursuits; the more faithfully they discharge their duties to their employers, the better entitled they are to enjoy intellectual pleasures; and they may well be assured, that in proportion as they respect themselves, so will they be respected by those who employ them. This Association, as Sir Edward Grogan has told you, is likewise under the guidance of the Church. The Church acknowledges

no distinction of persons. The Church receives all classes gladly within her capacious bosom, and under her gentle guidance the youth of this metropolis may learn the way in which to improve their moral, intellectual and spiritual nature.

The subject that has been chosen to-night is Rome and its Vicissitudes. It is a vast subject, and the difficulty is to compress the discussion within reasonable limits. It has been said that whatever makes the past predominate over the present, exalts us in the scale of thinking beings. Moreover, our subject, Rome and its fortunes, must set in motion trains of thought, useful alike to the student of history, to the practical statesman, to the enquiring Christian. You must endeavour to throw your thoughts back to the beginning of the Christian era. It must ever be a subject of interest to consider the rise and fall of a great nation—to discover in what way lived those who conquered and ruled the world—in what description of city dwelt “the Commonwealth of kings—the men of Rome.” To recall to life a nation that has passed away is an impossibility; to rebuild a splendid city in the eye of the mind, and to re-people it with brave and busy men, would seem to be a difficult, if not a hopeless, task—yet the character of such a people as the Romans is preserved by the memory of their great actions, by the labours of their historians, and by the genius of their poets; even the buildings of their famous city may be restored to our delighted gaze by relics which attest their imperishable beauty.

The two great nations of ancient times were Greece and Rome. Now, they differed in their character, and that very difference explains a great portion of the peculiar excellence of each.

The Greeks were subtle in mind, ingenious, inventive, eloquent, witty; but they wanted stability of character. The

life of that celebrated nation as a free state did not last more than 200 years. The liberty of Greece fell when Demosthenes ceased to thunder. The Romans, on the contrary, possessed that gravity of character which the Greeks wanted; they disciplined their bodies to labour, and their minds to thought; they framed laws which were good, and they obeyed those laws, and therefore the length of time during which they possessed power far exceeds the period during which the more brilliant and witty people of Greece enjoyed their freedom. Why did the Romans fall from power? The answer is most instructive. For centuries their patrician Senate ruled with wisdom; their generals led their armies with matchless skill, and returned in triumph to till their fields with victorious hands. They were simple, honest, virtuous, and brave. One of their famous men Cato, said, that while the Romans were pure and religious, they lived in modest mansions and exhausted their wealth on the temples of the gods; but, as they increased in power, they increased in wealth; luxury oppressed them, corruption overtook them; personal profligacy succeeded to personal virtue, and therefore ancient Rome fell. Shakspeare has invented speeches for Brutus and Cassius. Addison describes Cato as struggling with the storms of fate, soliloquizing on the immortality of the soul, and perishing in the cause of freedom. All that sounds well, but the truth of the matter is this (as a German writer has tersely expressed it)—so utterly corrupt had the Romans become before their liberties were overthrown, that an angel from heaven could not have saved them. What is the moral to be drawn from my short statement of early Roman history? Why, this—a nation exists, not by the letter of its laws, not by acts of parliament which are lifeless things—but by the virtue, by the purity, and by the faith of the masses of the people of the State; and the very moment the people become,

in a mass, irreligious and corrupt, their leaders profligate, you can no longer keep the spirit of freedom fresh and pure. Now, I ask you to consider what was the state of Rome, even as a city, after the time that Cæsar Augustus issued a decree that all the world should be taxed. Cæsar Augustus was at first a professing patriot, but when he had disposed of all his rivals, he became a cool and cunning tyrant. You have heard it said, "He found ancient Rome of brick, and left it of marble;" which means that, possessed of boundless power and boundless wealth, he then did what a poorer and a better race of men had forgotten to do—adorned the City of Rome, and made it, in point of architectural beauty, and in reference to the enjoyment of physical life, the most wonderful city of ancient times. Let us examine for a moment how the Roman people dwelt; what kind of city, if we can describe it, ancient Rome was. Augustus Cæsar had Mæcenas for his friend, Agrippa for his minister, the wit of Horace to season his supper, and the poetry of Virgil to enjoy. Augustus and his advisers were very methodical,—they loved "law and order:" so they divided their great city, the population of which was not equal to five-eighths of the population of London at the present day, into fourteen departments. Writers say, that as far as they are enabled to calculate, the population of Rome was about one million and a half or two millions; but still they were in the City of the Seven Hills; surrounded with walls and much pent up and confined at the time this great Emperor ruled the world. Now the very word Rome signifies *strength*: everything the Romans did was done with prodigious solidity; their buildings were erected to last almost till eternity. It would be impossible for us at this distance of time, and in the present state of our information of the ancient city, to have regard to their streets, or the interior parts of the town; because it is a

matter of conjecture what description of streets they built; but as to their public buildings, we can be more specific, and why?—Ancient Rome was divided, as I have said, into fourteen regions, and, being a methodical people, the Romans never erected a public building that they did not preserve a record of it in the department to which it belonged. It was recorded in a catalogue by the regionaries: these catalogues have come down to modern times, and skilful archæologists have pursued their inquiries as to every ruined temple, every broken arch, every column that stands in solitary splendour; and they have so guided their investigations as to restore, by their plans and drawings, the original building on the very spot, and almost in the exact form in which it was originally erected.

The Romans were very religious, and this had a great effect on the early progress of Christianity—as I shall in a moment show. They had no idea of a State disconnected from religion; therefore religion, though it was a false religion was interwoven with all their public acts. When the Senate assembled, it was in a temple, and they commenced with a religious ceremony, as we commence our meetings in our Senate with prayer. So with all their grand ceremonies, the triumphs of their generals, and their other public displays. They thus imprinted upon the minds of the people a respect for religion, and they also impressed upon them a profound reverence for oaths.

Next let us enquire what kind of buildings were their temples? It is very difficult to describe their magnificence: their situation was most commanding, frequently on a hill. They built a temple, for instance, to what they called their Capitoline Jove, the description of which would partake more of a romance than a reality. Cæsar Augustus, for the purpose of ornamenting this temple, gave 2000 pounds'

weight of gold and precious stones of immense value, brazen thresholds and rich pillars that he had torn from Athens: the interior was adorned with gold and silver, and a profusion of treasure was employed in the erection. The Emperor Domitian gave for the gilding of that single temple, 12,000 talents. The Emperor Aurelian worshipped the sun; on a hill he placed a temple to the sun; and after the conquest of Palmyra, 15,000 pounds weight of gold was given by him for the purpose of adorning that single temple, which, for size, form, and beauty, was wonderful. We have another, still perfect, that is called the Pantheon, which was in the sixth century changed into a Christian church, and is therefore preserved entire. Now we may have some notion of their ideas of beauty and of architectural excellence by looking at that one extraordinary edifice, not very large, but of peculiar elegance, and if you have a recollection, as you may have, of the Round Church, lately destroyed by fire, and could place before it a portico of surpassing beauty, consisting of sixteen columns of oriental granite of the Corinthian order, of exquisite construction, eight in the front, the other eight arranged in four lines behind them, making three porticoes instead of one,—you might have some idea of the Pantheon. It was intended to have been decorated with statues of the most eminent citizens; and it was covered with precious ornaments. There is a round aperture in the splendid dome,—and to this hour the rain, wind, and storm beat in and around the venerable pile; and yet, at the end of 1860 years, it stands unequalled in beauty.

Enough of these temples. What were their amusements? The Romans were very particular on this subject, because, as their great business was agriculture and arms, of which they preferred the latter, they took great care of the bodies of their citizens. They were of opinion that the best thing a Roman could do, was to wash his body in pure water when he got up

in the morning ; but as the population was large, they thought it necessary to accommodate that population with baths, of the capacity and splendour of which you can have no conception. The style and magnificence of those structures would fill you with astonishment.

In one of these were seats for the bathers to the number of 1600 persons at a time. Nor must you suppose that these seats were of an uncomfortable character—quite the reverse. In another there was accommodation for no less than 3000 persons. The tubes through which the warm water passed (for those who preferred it,) were of silver ; and the supply of water boundless. There were, near the baths, lecture rooms and rooms for exercise and literary enjoyment. In these baths the old Romans comforted themselves, I believe, more than once a day. How did they get a supply of water ? If there be any members of the Corporation of Dublin present, they may derive some information from learning how the Romans obtained a supply of water for their city ; and on this matter they were very particular, as all sensible people should be. In the infancy of the city the Romans drank the waters of the yellow Tiber, (for they had nothing better), the colour of which was enough to give a man a distaste for it ; but when they became rich and more civilized, they took care to supply their city with an abundance of pure water, which they brought from the distance of twenty, thirty, and even forty miles. In fact, they poured whole rivers into the city, piercing mountains and bridging over valleys for that purpose ; for they were determined, at any cost, to have abundance of water. On one single aqueduct they built 7000 arches ; but these aqueducts were not used merely for the purpose of supplying the city with water ; they were also used for watering the country, and were allowed to be tapped in certain places (under proper superintendents) for that object. Pliny, speaking of these aque-

ducts, says, that if we consider attentively the quantity of water brought into the city of Rome for baths, fish-ponds, private houses, artificial lakes, gardens, suburban villas, &c., as well as for the ordinary purposes of the city,—and if we look at the lakes formed into canals for water, mountains pierced with tunnels, valleys filled up to a level,—it must be admitted that there was nothing more wonderful in the world. The Romans did not like the use of lead, nor were they acquainted with cast iron; therefore it was that their aqueducts were constituted of solid stone. If one of the old Romans were now alive, and heard of the difficulties which beset our Dublin Corporators in bringing water to our city, he would smile and do the work.

As regards the amusements of this great people, they were at the best quite characteristic. They laid out parks for exercising their young men. The principal one was called the Campus Martius, which was about three-quarters of a mile long; there they exercised the youth of the city. A Roman noble of the present day would die in a quarter of an hour under the exercise in which his forefathers took such pleasure. There they wrestled, threw the ball, and used armour weightier than they were ever called on to wear on the field of battle. There they practised horsemanship, exercising in verdant fields, on the banks of the Tiber, with every object around to gratify and please the eye. On the opposite side of the city there was another plain of the same description; but all were adorned in such a manner as to be as beautiful and attractive as possible. Strabo, who visited Rome in the time of Augustus, gives a description of it, which is more like that of a fairy tale than the narrative of the geographer and traveller; and when he stood in the Campus Martius, and looked on the porticoes, the temples, and the other more prominent buildings of the district, such as the Pantheon and Mausoleum of Augustus,

he said that it appeared to him like a place fitted for the habitation of the gods.

In respect to their theatres, I must say that they were also justly a subject of wonder. The principal of the buildings dedicated to the entertainment of the people, was the Coliseum, of which you can have but a slight conception from my description, very likely you have seen drawings of it. I have walked over it day after day, and each day with greater astonishment than I felt the day before. However, I may say that it was built with an idea of vastness, durability, and strength on the greatest scale; and, furthermore, it gives us a glimpse of the tendencies of the human heart before it was touched and softened by Christianity. As to its extent, I may mention that it covers no less than six acres. It is of an elliptical shape, and is four stories high. The first story is of the Doric order of architecture, the second Ionic, and the third Corinthian. The fourth was smaller than the other three, and furnished with an ingenious contrivance for drawing over a great awning—if I may so describe it—to shelter the audience from the heat of the sun, which is in that country not unfrequently too hot for endurance. The Coliseum was of such vast dimensions that it could accommodate with seats no less than 80,000 people; and every convenience was afforded the public for access and departure, so that no one need encroach upon his neighbour. There was accommodation in this building for every rank of persons in the state, who took their seats with great facility. All round within there was a colonnade of pillars. The amusements of the arena usually consisted of the combats of gladiators, who were mostly slaves, and were taught to be gladiators. According as the spirit of the Roman people degenerated and became corrupt, they became fonder of these sanguinary displays. I find, for example, that Julius Cæsar diverted the people with a contest of 320 couples of gladiators.

Titus devoted ten days to this sort of amusement, and he delighted the Romans by the fighting of wild beasts and the representation of sea fights, which lasted for 100 days. Trajan entertained the people for 123 days, during which time he brought out 1000 pairs of gladiators and 5000 wild beasts, all said to have been slain—that was doing the thing upon a considerable scale. At the bottom of the arena were doors whence the wild beasts darted out. Now, for a moment, if you can imagine yourselves spectators of such a scene, beholding the enjoyments of Roman emperors. What an exhibition! On one occasion the Emperor Commodus proposed to exhibit himself before the eyes of the common people; and on the appointed day motives of curiosity attracted a numerous concourse of spectators. The Emperor aimed first at an ostrich, just as it entered the arena—stopping its rapid career on the moment, and cutting asunder the long bony neck of the bird; then a panther was let loose—the imperial archer waited till the beast had sprang upon the body of a malefactor—the shaft fell, and the beast dropped dead; the man escaped unhurt. Now, I am sure that it was perfectly immaterial to the Emperor, except for the purpose of showing his skill, whether it was the man or the beast that escaped unhurt. One hundred lions were next let loose, and one hundred darts from the unerring hand of Commodus laid them dead as they ran raging round the arena. Neither the bulk of the elephant, nor the scaly hide of the rhinoceros, could save them from his aim.

Such were the entertainments of the Romans. But again,—when the gladiator had fought bravely, and endured his wounds, showing no fear of death, if the spectators desired to save his life, they held up their thumbs; if not satisfied, they turned them down, and he died! When the fight was over, a river

of water was sent from the aqueducts through the arena, to wash away the blood spilled !

Such were the bloody spectacles and enjoyments of the greatest, the proudest, and the bravest nation of heathen antiquity !

The Romans were particularly fond of commemorating their great men. They did that in different ways:—one was by triumphal arches, of which several stand to this day. Those who have seen the arch in the park in London may form an idea of what they were. For example, after Titus destroyed Jerusalem, according to Scripture, we find a triumphal arch erected to him; and the very spoils torn from the Temple are described in marble upon that arch. The serenity of the climate, and the fact that they had no coal, preserved the beauty of the marble; the arches stand as white and perfect to-day as they did when built. The Romans placed those arches at the most striking points of the city; and you may well conceive how much they added to its beauty. Again, they subdued Egypt, and there found amongst others an obelisk covered with hieroglyphics, engraved about the time of Moses. This immense mass of stone they bore away in the reign of Augustus from the place in which it stood, opposite the Temple of the Sun, at Heliopolis, and, having constructed a ship that could carry it, they brought it to Rome in triumph, and erected it there to the honor of their emperor and in ornament of their city. It stands to this day in Rome, placed in a commanding position, so as to be seen from two or three different streets; and as no other city, save Paris, possesses an Egyptian obelisk, it is an object of the greatest interest to the traveller.

And now let me say a word about their tombs. These were very peculiar, few are still extant. In ancient times they buried a hero as he ought to be buried. Not very long ago,

the tomb of Scipio was discovered, and as all such discoveries create the greatest interest in Italy, the ornaments found and sarcophagus were taken out and put in the great Museum. Accordingly, the sarcophagus of Scipio was placed in the Vatican. It was found to consist of peperino stone, and had upon it the simplest inscription, exactly showing to us what the Roman people were in the days of their virtue and their freedom. We have standing likewise a pyramid erected to one Caius Cestius. How did that happen to be preserved? When there was a Gothic invasion, resisted by the great Belisarius, in repairing the defences, he came to the little pyramid and built it into the wall, there it remains to the present day, a construction which is not likely to suffer by the lapse of time. It stands exactly as it was erected. There is another tombstone of a very different kind, but of a very interesting character; it is that of Euryiaces the baker. That he was an ordinary baker, I do not believe; but that he was a very good baker, I am quite sure, and as the Roman citizens liked pure water, they were likewise very particular to have pure bread. This gentleman's tomb is of a very large size; and instead of a futile, frivolous inscription, he has carved around it, in figures that have proved imperishable, the whole operation of making the bread, from the very beginning of the operation until it is weighed out honestly to the customers.

There is, at a little distance from the Campagna, on which poets have written so many verses (for there is nothing in Rome which has not been the subject of poetical inspiration), the tomb of Cecilia Metella, a lady for whom her husband entertained such an affection, that he determined she should never be forgotten. Accordingly, he built to her memory a Martello Tower: there it stands, not like our Irish Martello Towers, to puzzle posterity, but to explain to us what a high

opinion her husband had of the virtuous woman whose memory he thus consecrated and preserved.

The tombs of the Emperors were grand and magnificent in the extreme, but the Castle of St. Angelo, which you hear so much of at the present day, and into which the Popes fly for refuge when in trouble, was nothing but the tomb of an Emperor.—The Emperor Hadrian built it, with an entrance to it through which triumphal chariots could pass—its chambers were covered around with paintings, originally brighter and more splendid than they now appear. That which is at this moment a castle, and was a tomb, contained on the day I visited it, four or five hundred prisoners.

Vastness, grandeur, prodigious labor marked all the public works of the Romans, and so with everything they did, because they were determined their works should endure.

Now, having noticed their games, their sports, and their public buildings, it may be asked what were the habits of the citizens? what was their character, with all those enjoyments provided for them? They were the most corrupt, profligate, and utterly contemptible populace that ever lived on the face of the earth! The Roman citizens, as they called themselves, became by degrees so debased and so enslaved, that they admired most that emperor who gave them the largest share of public entertainments; who provided them with such spectacles as I have described gratis. They flocked out to their games in the morning; they then resorted to the baths, which they enjoyed at the cost of about one farthing of our money; they then went to the granaries and received a certain portion of corn for nothing; and thus became, not the industrious citizens of a free state, but the depraved slaves of despotic tyrants! So it would be at this moment in our country if, instead of honest wages, laboriously earned by men who respect themselves, and who are respected

by others,—the State undertook to support every man who hears me, and he were told to do nothing but run about the city and ask the news from morning till night. Unless such men were paragons of virtue, they would become the most contemptible beings in creation.

The gardens of the Romans were sometimes of uncommon magnificence. The garden of Sallust was more like what might be called a large villa than a garden; it had spacious grounds, in which were towers, and obelisks, and lakes, and statues; on which the wealth of the world would appear to have been spent. The very man who planned that garden writes a history in which he describes the vices of the Romans; and the critic upon that historian says, that he himself practised the vices he denounced in others. The entertainments of the Romans were magnificent. Sometimes the scale of a supper depended upon the room in which they supped. Lucullus was so expensive a man that Cicero and Pompey determined to find out in what style he supped. Accordingly, they met him one day, and said to him—"Lucullus, we will sup with you to-night." "Very well," said he, "but you will allow me to fix the apartment in which supper shall be served." They did not understand him, but assented. Accordingly, he named the apartment, and, to their amazement, a supper was served up of uncommon magnificence. "What," they said, "do you sup in this way when alone?" He left them in doubt for a time, but in the end informed them that the scale of the supper depended merely upon the apartment in which he thought fit to enjoy his banquet! No wonder that such a nation, about the period of the Christian era, should be trembling to its fall, because, as I have said, industry was abandoned in the city, the provinces were plundered, while profligacy, corruption, and luxury overpowered the morals and virtues of the people.

The ancient Romans made their public roads in a way that no modern paviour could imitate: for example, I find that the Censor Appius made a road—the Appian Way,—and those who travelled upon it, 900 years after it was made, found that not a single stone was displaced, not the slightest break had occurred in the pavement laid down by that incomparable paviour. It was a narrow structure—I shall not wait to explain to you the particular formation of it—but suffice it to say, it was so built by great blocks of stone, laid in two or three strata, that now, at the end of 2000 years, it is in almost as perfect a condition as when first the Roman soldiers marched upon it. The Romans made their roads, not for enjoyment—not for pleasure—not for commerce—but for war; because, as they conquered every country in Europe, and a great deal of the East, it was necessary to have military roads, in order that the legions should be enabled to traverse their empire; consequently, such a man as Appius made that road. It is not to be wondered at, that a nation such as Rome should govern and conquer the world. However, those who ruled it at the time I speak of, were the most profligate tyrants the world has ever seen; and it has been asked, and well asked, was it that such Emperors should rule that all the wisdom and intellect of the early ages of Rome had been devoted? The answer is, that that wisdom and that intellect were only useful while the people were virtuous; but when they lost their virtue, they were fit for slavery.

Now, about the time I have referred to, we read that St. Paul was in Rome, sitting in his lodging—doing what? He was expounding from Scripture the Christian religion, from morning till evening. Realize, if you can, for one moment, the situation of that inspired man in such a city as Rome, without power, or money, or friends, or influence. He is pitted against the grandeur, and power, and wealth, and

idolatry of this proud and magnificent nation ; yet, how did Paul do the great business which he was appointed to perform ? Why, according to the Sacred History, he did it by reasoning from the Prophets and the Scriptures. What do we, Christians, learn from that ? We learn this—that by the very same means that nations were converted and truth taught in the beginning of the Christian era, nations are to be converted and truth taught now. Take the map and follow the travels and labours of Paul ; and your mind may well be filled with wonder, when you consider that, in that age of the world, navigation was imperfectly understood, travelling difficult, and danger accompanied the wayfarer almost at every step.

Follow upon the map that inspired Apostle, from the time that he left Damascus and went down to Arabia : pursue him through the whole of his triumphant career, and bring him to Jerusalem, and finally to Rome, where he bore witness also, and you may have some conception of the grandeur of his character. We are not sufficiently alive to what we owe to this inspired hero. Just observe, from what I have told you, everything that existed in the Roman Empire was opposed to the principles of Christianity. Take their amusements—they were bloody entertainments. Christianity pronounced that the life of man was mercifully bestowed by his Creator—was given to be a blessing to the world, that the Christian was to preserve that life, and be grateful to the God who gave it ; therefore, the Christian and the Roman were opposed at once in principle and conduct. The Romans worshipped an infinite number of gods ; and they said to the Christians—You are churlish—you have only one God, we have many ; we are more liberal than you, and we will place the statue of your Christ beside the statue of our Apollo. The Christian answered that his God was a jealous God ; and as he found it impossible to join in the

idolatrous worship of the Romans, he was regarded as a gloomy ascetic, because his principles and his faith were not understood or apprehended.

The Romans tyrannized over their children ; they frequently exposed them in their streets : the Christians took them up, baptized them, cherished them, fed them, and converted them. In this respect, likewise, they were in direct conflict with the principles and practice of idolaters ; and, therefore, how was it that St. Paul, residing in his obscure lodging, proceeded to convert a proud, intellectual people, coming into direct conflict with all their enjoyments, their literature, their customs, their history, their tradition, and their glory ? Why, he was supported by a Power derived from above ; and being inspired by God, and possessed of the Scriptures, he did a mighty work, the blessings of which we now enjoy. And, as to the effect produced by that great work, we read that many of Cæsar's household were converted. Some of the most distinguished people, no doubt those about the person of the Emperor, were first converted. Three classical writers, Lucian, Pliny, and Tacitus, have agreed on this—that the success which attended the Christian Apostles was wonderful ; and there is no doubt that, by their superhuman energy, the Gospel was propagated in every great city of the Roman Empire. Where was it preached first ? Of course, the first Church was in Jerusalem : the next, no doubt, in Antioch ; and then Christianity came to Rome ; and Rome being the capital, the Church in that city became very influential, to this extent, that its Bishop was after some centuries regarded as the Metropolitan of Italy, and was subsequently called Primate (a very appropriate name). That was a natural result of the Christian religion being preached in the capital !

You know that the Christian religion made war upon idolatry everywhere. What happened then ? Scarcely had Nero

ascended the throne, when a horrid persecution arose. A great fire which broke out in the city was attributed to the Christians, when they, although innocent, were made the sport of that inhuman monster: their bodies were tortured, covered with pitch, lighted in the arena as candles, for the amusement of those who could enjoy such a horrible spectacle. Yet, that could not crush the spirit of Christianity, for it was vital and eternal, and has operated on the world ever since politically as well as religiously. The greatest event that occurred after the time I allude to, was the conversion of Constantine. The Emperor Constantine was proclaimed in England; and it is a very curious fact that, while persecution was raging against the Christians all over the world, they were safe in England. The father of Constantine was disposed to the Christians favourably—many of his family were converted—therefore he spared their persons, while their churches were destroyed. Constantine the Great then became a Christian. What happened next? He proclaimed Christianity as the religion of Rome; but not without a conflict did he succeed, Emperor as he was. By-and-by, the Christians having been freed from the persecution of Diocletian, the Christian Church was at liberty to progress in peace. Observe the effect of Constantine's policy:—having formed the opinion that the seat of empire ought not to be in Rome—in fact, I believe he never was in Rome more than twice—he founded that city which to-day bears his name, I mean Constantinople. The beauty of its situation, on the confines of Europe and Asia; the power it gave of controlling the eastern provinces, the admirable site it afforded for commerce and business, all combined to point it out as the proper seat for a great city. Constantinople is to-day such a city; but what was the effect of Constantine removing the seat of government from Rome? Why, he brought all the nobility, the grandeur, and the wealth

of the empire with him ; and as he thought fit to transfer the seat of government to Constantinople, Rome declined ; but, according as it declined in temporal power and grandeur, its Bishop became a more important man than he had been before. If Constantinople had remained the seat of government, you never would have heard of such a person as the Pope of Rome, as a temporal prince : and again, when Constantine removed to Constantinople, nobody could ever imagine that the Bishop he left behind him in the fading city would become the ruler of the Church he founded at Constantinople. Consequently, the Patriarch of Constantinople was fully equal to the Bishop in Rome. That fact had a most important bearing on the history of Christianity, and not only on it, but on politics.

The situation of Constantinople, so admirable then, makes it important now. There is no manner of doubt that the war in the Crimea arose from the determination of one Power, Russia, to possess Constantinople, and the determination of the other Powers of Europe to prevent it ; and whenever a statesman has to decide upon a political question of such a nature, he cannot decide upon the mere facts that present themselves at the time to his mind, but upon a right judgment of the great facts of history during the lapse of 2000 years.

Constantinople became the seat of the empire and of a Christian Church ; it grew into a magnificent city, because they ransacked every other city of the empire to adorn the favoured abode of the Emperor. After Constantine settled in Constantinople, what happened as to Rome ? It declined rapidly until at last it was ravaged by the Goth, by the Vandal, by barbarous tribes, who, impelled by hunger and tempted by the love of plunder, rushed upon the beautiful plains of Italy, and devastated the fair city of Rome. Sometimes the Emperor sent them assistance from the East ; at others, left them to their fate ; sometimes an army appeared to drive out the barbarians ;

then again they held their ground, and remained in the country they had plundered until they were satiated. All this time Rome was declining as you can understand, in power, in greatness, and in population, until at last the city was supposed not to contain more than 30,000 people. Now, I may be asked, and the answer reveals an interesting historical fact—what was the Pope doing all this time? Why, as far as I can find out, he made himself useful—he did the best he could for the people, whom it is fair to say, he represented. He represented their grievances to the emperor, advised them, and consoled them. But he was at that time elected by a sort of ecclesiastical synod; we are not now able to define precisely the relative rights of that body; he was proposed as Bishop by the ecclesiastical synod, and the election was ratified by the voice of the people. There is a very curious analogy, one formed by a learned man in a tolerant spirit, as to the utility of the Church of Rome in the dark ages. He said it resembled the mission the Jews had to perform at one period. The Jews had to perform a certain mission in the world—positive commands were laid on them to do certain things—until Christianity came and did away with the necessity of that particular and specific course of action; and so this writer argues that, in the dark ages to which I have referred, the Church of Rome (being then comparatively pure,) was useful in opposing barbarism, in resisting high criminals, and in affording protection by its convents and monasteries from murder and robbery,—but that such its mission is now over. The institutions that were useful in that age of the world—in an age of comparative darkness—are no longer useful in an age of clear daylight.

Down to the eighth century the state of things described continued. The last great struggle made for the liberty of Italy and Rome of which we have record, was in the time of Justinian,

by Belisarius. He is represented in pictures in the character of a blind beggarman, asking for a penny; but that is a fiction. He was sent into Italy by Justinian to drive the barbarians out of Rome. He succeeded in doing so. It was the final struggle. He restored Rome to the inhabitants, such as they were, and returned to a master who proved himself ungrateful to a hero; but it is not true that he was reduced to mendicancy.

About the eighth century Rome shook off all connexion with Constantinople, up to which time the Bishop was subject to the Emperors residing in that city. And now we have a most interesting episode in ancient history, that which describes the Battle of the Images. In the course of those six or seven centuries practices unknown to the early Christians had crept into the church. By the way, I was very much struck with an incident to the effect, that when the Emperor Diocletian issued his command to destroy the churches of the Christians, there was a splendid church in Nicomedia which a party was sent to destroy. They went to look for images, but instead, they found in the church the Bible and burnt it—so you see that is an old trick. It is the first instance I find on record of the Bible having been burnt, but it does not appear to have been the last. The act was useless, because the Christians, by their industry, had copied the Scriptures to such an extent that they were to be found in manuscript in every part of the empire. Now, this great dispute respecting the Images did not arise between Protestants and Roman Catholics, but between the Eastern Churches and the Western Churches. Leo, the Emperor of Constantinople, came to the resolution that images should be removed from all places of Christian worship. There was a great discussion and great opposition; but eventually he said he would summon what he called a Council. He sum-

moned about 350 Bishops ; the Bishop of Rome and the Bishops of Italy refused to attend. They said—not very politely—that the bishops who did attend were “slaves to their bellies;” however the Council sat, and came after six months’ deliberation to this decision, that the introduction (these are the words, very instructive, and with which I cordially agree), of all visible symbols of Christ excepting the sacraments, were heretical ; that image-worship was a corruption of Christianity and a renewal of Paganism ; and that all such monuments of idolatry should be broken or otherwise destroyed. Now when that order was issued, they proceeded in the West and in Constantinople, to insist on its being carried out. It was vigorously opposed by some ; but there was a clever man then Pope in Rome, who wrote back to the Emperor that he had mistaken the question ; for he said, you have confounded two very different things—the idols of antiquity with the Christian images. Accordingly, in Italy they resisted that decree, and, rather than submit to it they took up arms, and assisted by foreign troops, defeated the Emperor, dispersed his troops, and from that time shook off virtually all authority of the Emperor, and all connexion with the Eastern Church. The Eastern Churches denied the authority of the Pope ; the Pope and other Bishops of the West disputed the authority of the Patriarch of Constantinople to control their actions ; and consequently they reversed the decree I have just mentioned.

I ought to say, that the people of these countries took a middle course—they decided with neither, but they said that the images might be retained, not as objects of worship, but as memorials of antiquity and helps to devotion. That was their answer. You see now how the matter stood,—that it was decided in the East as the Emperor chose, and decided in the West nearly as the Pope chose. After that, the Pope shook

off his allegiance, and made overtures to Charlemagne Emperor of the West, whose subject he became, although the city of Rome was not absolutely under the control of the Pope until the very year in which Constantinople, most unhappily, was conquered by the Turk, in the fifteenth century. Now when the Pope became the subject of the German Emperor Charlemagne, who was a Christian, a curious question arose, long since settled by history.—It was said that there were certain title-deeds, that conferred upon the Popes certain rights, which the first Constantine it was alleged, intended to give them—Romanists do not say that now, for they have a much better title, possession—and do not rely on fictitious grants from Charlemagne. The temporal power by degrees became vested in the Pope, he originally having been fairly elected Bishop by those having authority; then he was elected as chief magistrate by the nobles and patricians; and thus it was that the Pope came to exercise temporal power. But, what was the character of the people of Rome at that time? Why, in my opinion, the Pope was the best man in the city: the nobles were coarse, factious, violent, and brutal; and the people were miserable, because of those factious nobles plundering and oppressing them. The nobles were continually assaulting their chief magistrate; often put him to flight, and sometimes he was not able to return to the city for many months.—They built towers, from which they rushed out to fight with one another, deluging the streets of Rome with blood. So Rome continued until the other great question sprung up—the Battle of the Popes.

This is a very interesting period of history.—The desertion of Rome by Constantine and Diocletian changed the capital of the empire, but on this occasion, the desertion of it by the Popes, destroyed it as the capital of the religious world, because, in point of fact, Odoacer the Goth would have overthrown it if it were not for the sake of religion. There can be no manner of

doubt that St. Paul preached there, and as little that he addressed inspired epistles to its inhabitants, and it is believed that Epistle of St. Peter, from which Archdeacon Gregg read to-night, dated Babylon, was written in Rome. These facts in Sacred History stamped the city with imperishable interest. It was, I believe, the fact that the early martyrs had suffered in Rome, which attracted pilgrims, even in the darkest ages, to the shrines of those martyrs; and thus it was a religious feeling that saved the city from complete ruin.

The Battle of the Images lasted for about 100 years. The Battle of the Popes for 100 years. There was at that time not only a Pope, but an Anti-Pope. The real Pope left Rome, and migrated to Avignon, with a company of cardinals—very convenient for the ruler of France. At first the cardinals were reluctant to reside there, but when they found the climate was good at Avignon, the wine excellent, and the palaces splendid, they were content to remain. Well, what became of Rome during that time? The nobles and barons fought it out one with another, ungoverned and ungovernable: they had elected, I should have mentioned, Gregory the Seventh, a very able man, Pope, who finding that a popular election was troublesome, so contrived matters as to place the power of electing the Pope exclusively in the College of Cardinals. So, they elected one Pope in Italy, and another in France, and the question was—I am sure I am not going to decide it—who was the Pope? At last the great Catholic Powers said they would allow the controversy to last no longer. This scandal to the Church was so great, that the sovereigns resolved to force the matter to arbitration. All the learned men in the Catholic Universities were called in to decide the question, who was Pope? The arbitrators decided that neither of the two claimants ought to be the Pope; so they got rid of both by a compulsory resignation, and then the Conclave of Cardinals elected a Colonna, one of the

oldest blood in Rome. The people anxious for the restoration of their government received him with open arms, and declared they would never beat the Pope again.

Now we have restored the Pope to Rome, we must try to find out why it is that the Emperor of the French has left a particular piece of territory to the present Pope. On looking back to discern what were the size and extent of the duchies belonging to the Pope in ancient times, I find them much the same as the French Emperor saves for the Pope at the present day. I think the Pope might say to the Emperor—"You are treating me very ill, for you are looking to the origin of my title: I have had my provinces for 700 or 800 years; you only left London the other day; you have made a very good use of your time certainly, but, as far as antiquity goes, I have a much better title than you have." The lawyers would decide that matter, I must say, in favour of the Pope.

The old courts of justice at Rome were splendid buildings, because the Romans were very exact about the administration of justice. They placed their Praetor on an elevated bench, in the grand Basilica, and required him to lay down the rule of law in a loud voice, that all might hear and understand. When the Christians got possession of Rome they converted the Basilicas into churches—and beautiful churches they made—they placed their Bishop where the Praetor used to sit; and this explains, in some degree, the form of early Christian worship. At first the Christians worshipped by the river side, or in the catacombs, or where they could, but when they were able to use the privilege of Christians, they employed these Halls of Justice in the way I have described.

When Pope Eugenius returned to Rome, a friend of his called Poggius, a learned man, walked out to moralize, and sat down on the Capitoline Hill. He there composed a moral lecture on the "Vicissitudes of Fortune;" began with the primæval

state of Rome ; traced it through the Commonwealth ; reviewed her imperial grandeur ; her decline and fall ; and then asked whether a more mournful or affecting history than that, which the prodigious ruins he saw around him brought to the mind, could well be written.

We have a description of the condition of Rome at that time from the pen of Ranke the historian. It was then a city of herdsmen ; the appearance of the inhabitants resembled that of the peasants of the surrounding country. The hills were abandoned ; the streets were converted into narrow lanes, where two horse-men could not ride abreast ; the habitations were huddled together on the banks of the River Tiber ; there was no pavement ; the cattle wandered all over the once famous city ; and even the names of the famous places of the Capitol were changed—for example, the Forum Romanum, where Cicero spoke, was called a cow-field ; the very memory of antiquity seemed effaced. You might have a notion of the state of things in this way :—On the level of the old city the mass of rubbish was increased to such an extent that it covered the monuments and filled the streets. You may understand what it would appear by supposing twenty feet of earth piled from the Rotundo to Carlisle Bridge, and so elevated round the column of Lord Nelson that you could only see Lord Nelson's nose !—that may give you an idea of the condition of things in old Rome at this period—namely, in 1443. I pass over the time in which the Romans were protected by the neighbouring Powers. The scandalous dispute having been settled, the Pope got an army, which had an excellent effect in backing the arguments of the priests, because the arm of flesh is powerful. The population increased, and the buildings, which before were wretched, became speedily splendid. Every nephew of a Pope was obliged to build a palace, and so they erected buildings of which we can

have little conception. That palace which stands in Dublin now, called the Royal Dublin Society—may give one a faint idea of a Roman palace. As to the palace of the Pope, he is accommodated with 10,000 chambers, which, I think, give him ample accommodation for his small family. All these modern improvements were effected by the Popes; you must understand what a peculiar city Rome is. It has no manufactures, no trade, no business, no ships, and bad harbours, and consequently the people depend very much on that which has become a habit of life, and which is the whole business of Rome, namely, the ceremonial observances of the Church. When the Pope is driven from Rome, there are expelled with him a great body of priests, cardinals, nobles, and gentry; and as the Church ceremonies cannot then be performed, spectators are few, and the people suffer.

To revert to the condition of the city which successive Popes did their utmost to adorn. Amongst their projects with that end in view, there was one, to erect the finest and grandest temple that was ever raised for the purpose of religion; I mean St. Peter's. It was necessary to procure money to prosecute the grand enterprise, and every stratagem was used in order to get that money. Thus Leo X. pushed forward the gigantic undertaking, which Pope Sixtus nearly completed; but I say it was necessary for Leo X. to obtain money to carry on the great work he had to perform, and he had recourse to a system, the adoption of which was fraught with importance.

And now we arrive at an epoch in the history of Rome, and in the Vicissitudes of the city, which the student of history must study with the closest attention; I mean the era of Leo X. That was a great period in the history of the human mind; the faculties of men were never more fully developed; bold thoughts were uttered and deeds accomplished, the results of which were calculated to influence all succeeding ages. You

had famous kings: Henry VIII. in England; Francis I. in France; Charles V. in Austria; Leo X. in Rome; and in Constantinople, Solyman the Magnificent. Leo was, perhaps, the most refined in taste; he enlisted all the art and skill of Italy in adorning the city of Rome. It is worth travelling from this spot to Rome, to behold the representation of one single picture by the divine pencil of Raphael, in which he dares even to depict the Saviour, and has portrayed him in seraphic beauty. The genius of Raphael and the skill of Michael Angelo, the painter and the architect, were employed by the Pope. Leo appeared successful in everything. Of the aspiring family of the Medici, he thought he would not only make the Papacy all-powerful, but that he could erect a chair of state in the intellect of man; and through the spiritual rule the temporal. It was necessary, however, for his vast designs, to have money! Now there had been invented a practice of granting indulgences in the days of the Crusades to encourage the soldiers to fight for the recovery of the Holy Land, which was now restored under the magnificent Leo X.; and used as a mode of raising money was by the sale of what were called Indulgences. The Dominicans, a peculiar order that I never admired because they were the chosen servants of the Inquisition, were intrusted with the sale of indulgences in Germany. They were occupied in their appointed work near a small town in which a monk lived, who had stumbled upon a copy of the Bible. The name of that monk was Martin Luther. He was diligent from the commencement of his life; he was studious, and unquestionably virtuous. He got a small professorship by reason of his learning; and drew his inspiration from a different source from that which his brother monks had recourse to—the Bible. But, drawing his inspiration from that divine source, he began to reason with himself, and ask whether what he saw practised before his eyes was in accordance

with Scripture or not; and this solitary monk came to the conclusion that the Scriptures were positive in commanding one thing, and the Dominicans were doing another thing; and, to cut the matter short, Luther impeached the Pope. There is nothing more wonderful in the history of the world than this transaction, and I think you may, without injustice and without irreverence, after meditating on Paul in his lodging, contemplate Luther in his convent. Compare the combatants; the Pope,—remember that, in addition, the Powers of Europe, wealth, armies, prejudice which is often more overwhelming still,—were arrayed at one side, and against one man. What had the Monk to sustain him? Nothing but the power of truth. Inspired by what he read, that extraordinary man, with an energy more than human—with an eloquence that never has been excelled and rarely rivalled, proceeded in his career from one dispute to another, never yielding; convincing his countrymen—converting them by thousands—until at last, the haughty Pope, in his magnificent capital at Rome, was compelled to inquire who was the despicable monk, that dared to dispute his infallible authority. He despatched a cardinal to frown down Luther, or divert him from the course he was pursuing; Martin Luther met the cardinal in argument, neither party convinced the other—but why? Because, when the cardinal quoted the decrees of the Church, Luther quoted the Bible, and asked was the decree in conformity with the command of God; so the disputants made no progress. The Cardinal commanded obedience; the monk said, “I thought your Eminence wanted to convince me, and I see you wish to command me.” The result you know. Charles V. lamented on his death-bed—and it is an awful passage in the history of that prince—that he had not consigned Luther to the fate of Huss; but it was designed by Providence that Luther should

be saved, for he was carried away by friends, and protected in a strong castle, where he remained for two years. How did he employ himself during that time? Luther had a profound knowledge of the German tongue, so he sat down to translate the New Testament about the year 1523, aided by Melancthon, a scholar and a Christian; they produced the greater part of the Testament translated into the vulgar tongue; and a historian, who writes coldly on the history of our glorious Reformation, says—"The New Testament made more progress, and produced a greater effect, than all the speeches, exhortations, declamations, arguments, and writings of Luther. It converted a greater number in a shorter space of time." Such was the success of Luther; and are we conscious of what we owe to that wonderful man? It is not for the purpose of triumphing over those who differ from us that we refer to those matters; but we cannot touch on the subject of the Reformation without considering the wonderful part it had in awakening the human mind from the slumber of ages. It quickened the faculties of men; stimulated inquiry; gave an impetus to science; called forth the exertions of genius; stirred up the powers of the human intellect. It has been the cause of our freedom; to it we must ascribe our happiness in this life; to it we must ascribe the knowledge of the Book which is the foundation of all our hopes in the life to come. In reading history, we ought never to forget what we owe to the intrepid reformer who faced crowned kings, dungeons, and death, in the sacred cause of truth. The only way I can account for his marvellous success is, by recalling the words of Milton—"For who knows not that truth is strong, next to the Almighty. She requires no policies, nor stratagems, to make her victorious; these are the shifts that error uses against her power."

We have now the Scriptures freely circulated throughout

a great part of the civilized world, with freedom and toleration of opinion enjoyed. No true Protestant ever persecuted his fellow man for his opinions; no man was ever yet convinced by cruelty or oppression; he must be convinced in the way in which Paul convinced the Romans, or in which Luther taught the truth. But follow the exciting history. Leo X. died suddenly—at a period of great glory for Rome. His subjects said of him—“He glided in like a fox, ruled like a lion, and died like a dog”—a most severe criticism on so great a pontiff. Clement VII. now became Pope; and shared the Vicissitudes of modern Roman history in some of its most remarkable passages. He was an aspiring prince, and embraced the theory now proclaimed, Italy for the Italians. Clement VII. put himself at the head of an organized confederacy for the purpose of driving out the Germans, the Barbarians, as they were called, and for establishing Italian unity. Well, as long as the Pope contented himself with excommunicating kings, they took it quietly; but when he took to fighting, he came off, as Popes generally do, second best. Accordingly, Charles V., a devoted Catholic, went to war with the Pope, so that we are not to judge men by what they profess, but by what they do; for although he was a pious son of the Church, and though his last words inculcated upon his son Philip, the husband of Mary, to persecute the Protestants, for his own purposes he went to war with the Pope; and it is recorded by the historian, that, in order to insure the work being done well, he employed a considerable number of the German Lutherans in his army of invasion. The Lutheran general was a grim old fellow, and he said, “If I get to Rome I will hang the Pope.” Thus acted Charles V., the greatest Catholic sovereign of Europe, and his conduct shows you how to unlock the policy of Kings and Emperors who, when policy or ambition require,

will, without scruple, attack, imprison, or despoil the infallable high priest of their church.

When the army of Charles V., after Rome had risen to prosperity and grandeur, stormed and took it, they say that all the Vandals and Goths had done in sacking Rome, was as nothing compared with the destruction inflicted on the city, on the inhabitants, and on the monuments of antiquity,—because the Goths only stayed a few days—but the Christian army of Charles V. remained in Rome for months, and I cannot describe to you the mischief they did and the cruelties they practised. The unfortunate Clement VII. was shut up in the Castle of St. Angelo, with a half-a-dozen cardinals, vainly imploring aid; he finally escaped; then became the prisoner of Charles, who, being a profound hypocrite, declared that he never intended the Pope should be a prisoner and that he was particularly pleased to set him at liberty. Now, from that time, up to the period of the great Revolution in France the Popes were allowed to dwell in Rome in peace; but Napoleon I. like Charles V. marched straight into Italy, took possession of Rome, placed a governor there who professed a taste for antiquities, and repaired the old monuments, down to the very pavement of the Appian Way! All this in excuse for taking property that did not belong to him. There is nothing remarkable in finding the French in Rome, in Syria, or in Egypt. Alexander the Great founded Alexandria, just as Constantine founded Constantinople. Each meant to possess the commerce of the East, and conduct it into the West. When therefore, Napoleon I. invaded Egypt, it was not to gratify a wild ambition, but to colonize the country, to mould it to his purposes, and carry out a great policy. If you observe closely the present, and reflect on the history of the past, you will find Constantinople, Alexandria, and Rome, centres round which the political world revolves.

Let me in conclusion, ask, What do we see as we approach the modern city of Rome? When I stood on the Campagna, I thought I was transported to a desert. You may imagine a city in the centre of a vast plain, not a house, or tree, or fence, or any thing visible save a solitary peasant mounted on a shaggy pony, with a long wooden spear in his hand, driving a buffalo before him. All the grandeur and splendour of the Campagna of ancient Rome are gone. In the days of Augustus, the aqueducts watered it—fertilized it—but they are broken and prostrate; their ruins attract your observation and wonder; all the splendour and richness of imperial power have vanished, and the Campagna is a waste. Have you any conception of the horrors of a summer on that plain? At the season we are most joyous, they are most depressed. At the time of the cutting of the harvest in the environs of Rome, a scene of suffering is presented. The malaria encompasses the unfortunate mountaineers, who descend to save the harvest and earn a pittance for their children; a Roman citizen never ventures on the task. The reaper is infected with the disease and in all probability dies; and thus there is a greater number of patients in the hospitals in Rome during the summer than at any other season of the year. It is easily seen why Hannibal did not march against the city during the time the malaria prevails. He knew he would lose more men by disease than he would lose in battle. We should not imitate the critic who lectured Hannibal on the art of war.

If such was the condition of the Campagna, what was Rome itself in the last year of the late Pope's reign. Why, it was a delightful place; no railways, no gas-lights, no water-spouts, no newspapers, no politics, no parliament—while the officials and the nobles vied with each other in gratifying the traveller with every object of curiosity and all the wonders of art. Well, the

government of that Pope was unpopular; he was a very quiet-looking, amiable man, but not a capable ruler; he had been a monk. But what was the state of Rome during the first year of the present Pope? I had heard in Genoa the very idea that had been propounded in the time of Clement VII. propounded over again in a literary association, in which they talked politics under the mask of promoting science; and it was proposed that the Pope and Charles Albert should be at the head of the movement which was to make Italy one great Commonwealth again. That was their scheme: the Pope for a certain time seemed to assent. I have seen him myself, followed by multitudes—I have heard their acclamations till I was deafened—I have witnessed him giving his blessing to thousands of people, all lavishing upon him their hollow panegyrics in order to stimulate him to carry out their designs. He performed many benevolent actions; he emptied the prisons of 3000 men, who, I understood, had been confined for political offences some of them for eight and ten years without a trial. But Pius IX. released them, and this act of generosity produced a tremendous effect upon the entire principles of the Papal government; because these very men said—"This particular Pope is kind, benevolent, and good; but, what are we to do with the principles of a government which may change, with a change of Popes? Again, you know what has happened in reference to the Pope; he refused to go to war with Austria, and it appeared for a time that the cause of Italy was lost; but the scene shifts again, and we see the same objects are aimed at now, that were aimed at before, and with greater success. During the last autumn, curiosity led me to Turin, that I might hear and see an Italian Parliament; and discern, if I could, whether the members were likely to succeed in directing the counsels of a free government. A more courteous body of gentlemen, than the representatives of Italy,

it was never my good fortune to witness. Temperate in their discussions, obedient to their president, respectful to each other, they conducted their debates with the good feeling and good taste of men who had been accustomed to liberty all their lives. We are now witnesses of the vicissitudes of Roman history. The same idea re-appears after the revolution of ages in an assembly of Italians, amongst whom I understood that there was not a single Protestant, and the idea is, that Rome would be again the capital of a united Italy. That idea was expressed in their ancient history; and the notion of removing the seat of government from Rome would have filled an old Roman with horror: every spot in the city was consecrated in his affections; and, therefore, the idea lately broached as to Rome being the centre of power and authority, are exactly what would have been said 1800 years ago. But I must confess that the idea should be received with acclamation by such an assembly of Roman Catholics was surprising. Curiosity induced me to ask a member of the chamber, but not an official, "How is this to be accomplished? What do you intend to do with the Pope?" "Oh!" he said, "nothing to annoy him; we have the profoundest respect for his personal dignity." "I must say," I said, "you have a peculiar way of showing your respect: you have taken from him his power, his provinces, his property; you have hemmed him in on all sides, and do you mean to say you have a profound respect for him?" "Oh! yes, I will show you that we have; our idea is, that the time has come for separating the spiritual from the temporal authority;" (and I have endeavoured to show you that in ancient times they were both separate.) "Now," I said, "what do you intend to do with his Holiness all the while; for so far as law is concerned, the territory is his by right, and how do you mean to take it?" He replied: "We do not mean to expel him from

Rome: no, no; we will give him all he can desire—palaces and money at his command for his cardinals and for his priests; we wish him to remain in Rome, and govern the Church by his authority.” I asked, “Is it as a Primate?” and he said, “Something more than that.” I added, “Is he to issue his decrees?” “Yes.” “And, supposing he does, what will you do with such decrees; will you enforce them?” “No,” he said. “Then you mean,” I replied, “to leave it as a matter of opinion whether his decrees are to be obeyed or not?” “Yes.” “Well,” I said, “you are not so far from being a Protestant after all.” The Italian politicians do not intend to attack the dogmas of their Church; they disclaim all intention of repudiating the spiritual authority of the Pope; they say he is to be held in reverence; they only want him to give up all the territory he has, and to be at their disposal.

Now, it is a very difficult question, (and one on which more has been written than it would be possible to allude to here), whether or not the spiritual power of the Pope will be greater or less if he loses his temporal power? Many profound thinkers believe it will be greater. I know a gentleman who has deeply studied the Scriptures, and has written on prophecy; he has argued the point with me, and he says it must be so. He says, As soon as the Pope is saved from the odium that belongs to his despotic government, which is disliked by the people, then his authority in matters spiritual will be no longer complained of. He is now objected to, not on the grounds of religion, because the people who object to him are of his own faith, but on the score of misgovernment. ¶ Such persons as I have referred to argue with plausibility, that when relieved of the embarrassments which his political government gives him, the Pope’s power will be greater than before. That question I cannot here fully discuss; I am only at liberty to put this question, as the last part of my lecture. If a free Par-

liament be assembled in Rome—what then will be the effect upon Italy and the world? A free Parliament in Rome—the Pope enthroned in the Vatican in splendor, with his cardinals around him: freedom of discussion permitted—debates published every morning by a free press—free travelling—free thoughts—and, I hope, a free Bible. What then!

I am disposed to agree with the Pope, that the presence of a Parliament in Rome could not exist with his power as that power is now exercised; and that, although he might issue a decree upon matters spiritual, the Parliament might say, we call that temporal, although you call that spiritual; and it might end in reducing him to the position of being Primate of Italy. There is nothing to be guarded against more than that men, professing Protestantism, should encourage, against rulers from whom they differ in religion, the violation of those laws of nations which are of universal application. I, for one, could never understand why I was to spare the Turk and rob the Pope. But I hope I may live to see Christian worship restored to the famous church of St. Sophia, in Constantinople, which is now degraded into a Turkish mosque; and the best thing I can wish for Rome is, that the Christian religion may be there taught and practised, as it was taught by Paul, when he sat friendless in his lonely lodging. I trust that justice and truth, that well-ordered freedom, and, above all, the right to read the Scriptures, may be established in every country in the world. I never yet heard from any man, who had as much brains in his head as would rest on the head of a pin, an argument to convince me that it is not the right of every man, woman, and child, born into the world, to read the Scriptures. I would find it easier to disbelieve the Christian religion altogether, than to believe that I am not to be instructed by reading the wisdom of Solo-

mon, the carols and the hearse-like airs of David, the mighty Acts of the Apostles, and the “words of Him who spake as never man spake.”

The Church—the Church which God has established in the world was not designed merely for priests, prelates, or popes. The Church means the whole company of believing men throughout the world, wherever they are to be found. And as the apostles, confessors, martyrs, and reformers, to whose immortal labours we are indebted for the truth which we possess, have taught us what are the principles upon which we ought to act, let us never dishonour those principles by deviating one iota from that which is the charter of our faith and the hope of our salvation.

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